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affairs of a great empire, pride and hate have been unsafe counsellors.

In the mean time, we must be careful neither to overrate our own power, nor to underrate the power of a possible enemy.

- ART. VI. — 1. *The Cotton Trade*. By GEORGE MCHENRY. London: Saunders, Otley, & Co. 1863. 8vo. pp. 292.
2. *Cotton Cultivation in India and other Countries*. By JOSEPH GIBBS, C. E. London: E. & T. N. Spon. 1862. 8vo. pp. 248.
3. *The Culture of Cotton*. By J. W. MALLET, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Alabama. London: Chapman and Hall. 1862. 8vo. pp. 183.
4. *The Cotton-Planter's Manual*. By J. A. TURNER. New York: C. M. Saxton & Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 320.
5. *Reports and Extracts from Letters published by the New England Educational Commission for Freedmen*. Boston: 1863, 1864.
6. *Report to the Western Sanitary Commission in regard to leasing Abandoned Plantations*. By JAMES E. YEATMAN, President Western Sanitary Commission. St. Louis. 1864.
7. *Free Labor in South Carolina. Results of Practical Experiments*. Letter from EDWARD S. PHILBRICK. New York Evening Post, March 3, 1864.

LESS than three years ago the Cotton States rebelled against the government which had so long protected them even in that most unlawful of all legal powers, the power to hold human beings in bondage.

They did this in full confidence that England and the other countries of Europe, which had for several years purchased of them from eighty to ninety per cent of their total consumption of cotton, were absolutely dependent upon them for their supply, and would be obliged to support them in their effort to obtain the power to extend human bondage not only over new territories, but over the vast area of the existing Slave States,

then and now unoccupied for want of hands to till it, but which they hoped to occupy by the reopening of the African slave-trade.

Had not many of the foremost literary men and the mass of the workingmen of England set themselves against the aristocracy and the mercantile class in opposition to the establishment of a nation founded upon a crime by recognizing it as having equal national rights with their own, this recognition might have taken place; and we may be grateful to the English people for seeing, even before it was generally seen by ourselves, that this war was not simply a war for the emancipation of slaves, but a war for the emancipation of labor from the control of a great landed aristocracy, — a struggle in which they themselves have a not less vital interest than we have, and in which they may gain new hope and strength from our success.

But this supposed dependence of Europe upon the Cotton States has proved to be an utter fallacy. Already the extreme pressure has passed, and a supply of cotton sufficient to employ all the mills of England and the Continent from four to four and a half days in each week during the year 1864 can be safely predicted, and of this supply only about 130,000 bales are estimated to come from America.

Five estimates have been made of the supply of cotton for 1864 by persons of great experience in the cotton-trade; they vary from 2,445,000 bales to 2,915,000 bales. The average of these estimates is very nearly the estimate made by Messrs. Ellison and Haywood, as follows: —

	Bales.	Average Weight.	Pounds.
United States, . . .	130,000	430	55,900,000
East India,	1,750,000	370	647,500,000
China,	250,000	200	50,000,000
Egypt,	280,000	470	131,600,000
Turkey and Greece, .	140,000	340	47,600,000
Italy and Malta, . .	25,000	220	5,500,000
Brazil,	155,000	180	27,900,000
West Indies, &c., .	50,000	200	10,000,000
	<hr/> 2,780,000		<hr/> 976,000,000

being about the weight of the total importation of the year 1857.

It will be observed that in the above estimate only $5\frac{73}{100}$ per cent is relied upon from the United States.

The importations of cotton into England have been as follows :

In 1858, 1,025,569,000 lbs.	In 1861, 1,261,382,000 lbs.
In 1859, 1,190,888,000 lbs.	In 1862, 533,176,000 lbs.
In 1860, 1,435,800,000 lbs.	In 1863, 691,847,000 lbs.

From 1858 to 1861, inclusive, over 80 per cent was from the United States.

The supply expected for 1864 will not meet the absolute need of England, and will not enable her to run all her mills upon the same goods that she has been accustomed to make. For her most profitable use no substitute has yet appeared to take the place of American cotton, available as it is with the least amount and cost of labor for all numbers of yarn from No. 10 to No. 100; and it is probable that, whenever American cotton is restored in full supply, it will again drive a large portion of these new supplies from the market; not that it is to be expected, or even desired, that we shall ever secure again such a monopoly as we have hitherto enjoyed, for the future supply to be expected from Egypt alone will prevent such monopoly.

For the very finest work, such as laces and fine thread, no substitute for Sea-Island cotton has been found in any quantity; and it will be only by the free-labor cultivation of the Sea Islands during the past two years that an absolute exhaustion of this staple, and the loss of the best seed, will have been prevented.

For fine numbers,* yet not the finest, the cotton from Egypt and South America takes the place of that from New Orleans and Texas, and it is better than any cotton raised in this country except the Sea Island. There is a larger proportional supply of fine Egyptian and Brazilian cotton than of any other.

For coarse, common goods, the large supply of East-Indian, Turkish, and Smyrna cotton affords a substitute for our upland cotton, worked, it is true, at much less product and at far higher cost, but thereby furnishing employment to a larger number of operatives.

* The *number* of cotton thread or yarn designates the number of skeins or hanks of 840 yards each required to weigh one pound avoirdupois.

For medium goods, no good substitute to take the place of American cotton has appeared, and such goods are now produced by mixing a small supply of American cotton with the shorter staples. But as the supply of the better cottons of Egypt and South America is increasing in a far greater ratio than any other, and as these cottons are not too long to be manufactured on ordinary machinery in the cheapest manner, they may soon be made available for medium work.

It is thus safe to predict that, if the supply of American cotton should be kept back even two years more, Europe will become absolutely independent of this country for her supply, and will have a supply amply sufficient to employ all the operatives who may then remain in her cotton-manufacturing districts. Many of them will have been drawn off by emigration to this country, or by employment in other departments of textile manufacture, which have been greatly stimulated by the scarcity of cotton.

The foregoing statements are a sufficient refutation of the book first referred to at the head of this article, "The Cotton Trade," which is only noticed to prove the great pains and expense taken by the Confederates to warp the judgment of the English people and to obtain their support. It is a handsome octavo volume of three hundred pages, printed and bound in the best manner, filled with false statements of alleged fact, and garbled extracts from commercial and census tables, and intended to prove that the prosperity of England is dependent upon cotton, and that the supply of cotton can only be obtained as the result of slave labor in the Southern States.

The second work referred to, "Cotton Cultivation in India and other Countries," is in itself the most thorough and practical refutation of the first. The writer, an eminent civil engineer, states in the Preface, that the

"groundwork of these reports is based upon practical knowledge, experience, and an extended acquaintance with countries which have been inspected and surveyed about three years since with a view of introducing systems of adequate cultivation and other improvements connected with extensive works of irrigation.

"The attainment of new sources of cotton supply by the various manufacturers of Europe would by these means have been materially

advanced. The war between France and Austria interposed obstacles to the further prosecution of these undertakings."

Mr. Gibbs states that in this book he recommends no works of irrigation greater or more expensive than he has elsewhere constructed; and in a plain, practical style he enforces upon the reader the conviction that in Egypt, Asia Minor, Turkey, Italy, and Greece we are to find our most successful and permanent competitors in the production of cotton.

No climate or soil in the world can probably be found better fitted to the production of cotton than the climate and soil of Egypt. As has been stated, the quality of her cotton is only excelled by that of the Sea Islands; the product per acre is equal to that of this country upon the average; the absence of rain affords a positive advantage over us, giving perfect security that the crop shall always be gathered in the best order. There is an unlimited supply of labor, unintelligent, and, with rare exception, using the same tools which were in use in the time of the Pharaohs, yet, under the energetic direction of the present Pacha, capable of being slowly but surely improved. The present Pacha is the largest and best cultivator of cotton in the world; he has the assistance of able English and French engineers; he is introducing steam cultivation to a great extent, and with entire success; and he can command an unlimited supply of labor during the picking season.

The crop of Egypt, which was only about 90,000 bales in 1860, was 240,000 bales in 1863, and is estimated at 350,000 bales in 1864,* despite a murrain which has swept off a large portion of the working cattle. From the profits of a single crop, works of irrigation could be constructed, or old works restored, sufficient to bring under cultivation two million acres of land capable of producing a bale to the acre.

In regard to a single section of the country, the Delta, Mr. Gibbs makes the following statement:—

"I have examined the whole of the Delta from Cairo to the seaboard, and all the branches of the Nile, and the canals leading from it, and in

* A considerable portion of the crop is shipped to France, and is not included in the preceding estimate of receipts in England.

some cases have made minute surveys of the whole country, and I can state that at least one million five hundred thousand acres can at once be put under cultivation for cotton."

Of one of several sections of the valley of the Nile treated of by Mr. Gibbs, he says : —

"At Beni-Souef, the Nile valley widens out on the Lybian side to a vast extent, and forms the Fayium, on the northeast side of which is situated the Berket-el-Korn, being the receptacle for the extra overflow water from the land lying below the Nile and above this lake. This division of the country was in ancient times celebrated for its productiveness and for its equally celebrated lake of Mœris. This lake undoubtedly was a high-level reservoir. . . . If the works were now restored on a good principle, not only would the value of the present imperfectly tilled land be greatly increased, but six to seven hundred thousand acres (English) would be added to the cultivated area of the country, of a quality inferior to no other land, and capable, from its peculiar local features and beautiful climate, of growing three agricultural crops per annum, or one crop of flax and one of cotton each year."

It thus appears, not only from this evidence, but from a four-fold increase in the crop in three years, that in Egypt the Southern States have developed by their own act their most formidable rival; for by the expenditure of the enormous profit of her present crop in permanent improvements, Egypt is placing herself in a position from which she cannot easily be driven, even when Yankee intelligence and free labor shall be fully applied to cotton cultivation in this country.

The uncertainty in regard to cotton cultivation in Egypt is the uncertainty attending the policy of a semi-barbarous despotism. The present Pacha, being intelligent and energetic, invites European assistance, and by this he may develop a crop of two million bales of cotton within the next five years. Should this be done, it is not to be supposed that any dogma of non-intervention will prevent England and France from taking measures to secure the permanence of such supply, even at the cost of a joint protectorate.

From European Turkey and Greece, in which there are great areas of land capable of producing a useful quality of

cotton, and from Asia Minor, 150,000 to 300,000 bales of cotton are expected in 1864.*

In Asia Minor near ancient Tarsus, and also upon the coast of Salonica, there are vast areas of marsh land periodically covered with water during the rainy season, and dry in the hot season, thereby causing most dangerous miasms, which the most insignificant and inexpensive works would entirely obviate, at the same time rendering a rich tract of country healthy, and available for producing cotton of the best quality.

As large profits are pouring capital into Turkey to an extent never dreamed of in these late years, and as English and French intelligence is being applied to her soil, it may be that the "sick man" may recover.

Thus it would seem that the barbarism of the South, while destroying itself, may in the providence of God be working out the regeneration of Eastern Europe, of Asia Minor, and of Egypt.

Large tracts of good cotton land are found in Ceylon, North Australia, New Zealand, and in the West Indies; but distance from market, the scarcity of labor, or other causes, must prevent these countries being permanent competitors with our own; the same may be said of Brazil, and of the other tropical regions of South America. Although the quality of South American cotton is better than ours, the crop is not likely long to compete with our own, as at ordinary prices coffee and sugar are more profitable crops in regions so well adapted to their growth.

Upon the Paraguay and Parana rivers there is an unlimited extent of the best cotton land, with a perfectly healthy climate; but the development of this region has been barred by frequent wars; and although it has now become for the interest of its inhabitants to keep the peace, and, under the stimulus of high prices for cotton, they are inviting European immigration, yet, for many years to come, for every pound of cotton raised they will require a pound of cotton cloth. In this section, as in Central and Southern Africa, as the arts of peace are introduced, the wants of the people will increase, and cotton cloth will be re-

* There is greater difference of estimate as to these countries than as to any other.

quired by the many much more rapidly than raw cotton will be produced by the few.

We turn now to India, to which England looked chiefly for aid, and where she has been bitterly disappointed. The receipts in 1863 have been less than in 1862, as in the year 1862 a large accumulation of old cotton was collected and sent to market; and although a large increase is hoped for in 1864, its quality does not improve. It is more adulterated with trash, and is only available for coarse work, and not for the fine light cloths called for by the hot countries in which England finds a large market. We find, indeed, that, by costly works of irrigation in some parts of India, where little cotton is now produced, the quality may be much improved, yet the proverbial slowness of Eastern nations, and the reluctance of England to change the land tenure, now in many parts of her Eastern possessions as bad as it can be, will prevent such measures being taken as would speedily make India a strong competitor with this country. Her present staple, together with that of China and Japan, must be driven from the market, except for a small portion of the world's demand, so soon as a tolerable supply of American cotton can again be furnished with certainty. Yet the supply from India will have proved of the utmost value to England, by enabling her to bridge over the gap in the supply from this country, and it is not unlikely that we may hereafter find the most profitable use for our coarse mills in New England in spinning East India cotton.

Coming now to the prospects of cotton culture in our own country, we find in "The Culture of Cotton" and "The Cotton-Planter's Manual" a minute description of that soil and culture on which it is yet to be proved that "salvation is of the Yankee."

Let any New England farmer read the description of the "cane-brake" lands of Alabama, with a soil from twenty-five to sixty feet deep, lands without a stone, on which the steam-plough might cut two to three feet instead of the shiftless four to six inches of slave cultivation, and in which the long tap-root of the cotton plant may burrow deep for the supply of moisture held by its wonderfully retentive power through the

driest seasons ; or let him read the description of the upland prairie cotton-lands, on which crops may be raised secure from frost, and large enough for profit, if not as large as on bottom-land ; let him find that the fever of the river-bottoms has been banished by the use of rain-water stored up in the winter ; let him find that upon the uplands there is no cause of ill-health, but that black and white can work as they have always worked side by side in the cotton-field ; let him realize that the prejudice against Southern climate has been caused by the habits of the people ; let him realize that, for two or three years after the end of the war, the work of a common laborer will yield from \$1,000 to \$2,000 salable product ; and if he does not then seek his own material advantage upon these cotton-lands, it must be because the Yankee has proved that he is dead by non-success in subjugating the slave power.

It is already evident that the whole cotton country must be permeated and regenerated by New England men and by New England ideas, and that by their work the cultivation of cotton, which now covers only one and two thirds per cent of the area of the Cotton States,* will be developed to its fullest extent. At the same time, the increased value of the product of the country caused by the simple transfer of labor from the sterile North to the fertile South will serve as a basis for the payment of the debt incurred during the war within twenty or thirty years.

There is but one obstacle to this, and that is "The Negro Question"; and in the "Reports of the New England Educational Commission for Freedmen," and in the report upon "The Cultivation of Cotton by Free Labor upon the Sea Islands," we have the complete and practical solution of this question, and of the future cultivation of cotton in this country. This is a bold statement, but it will bear the closest test.

The New England Educational Commission for Freedmen was the first society organized in the North to take charge of the emancipated slaves in their transition from slavery to free-

* One quarter of one per cent of the area of Texas produced, in 1860, 405,000 bales of cotton, being one half the consumption of the North, one fifth the consumption of England.

dom. It was called into existence by a letter from Mr. Edward L. Pierce, who had been appointed as the Superintendent of Freedmen at Port Royal by the Secretary of the Treasury ; he asked his friends in the North to send to his aid two or three missionaries or teachers, and for this simple purpose the Commission was organized. The scope of its work was, however, speedily enlarged ; ample means were obtained, earnest, practical men and women applied to be employed, or volunteered to go without pay, and in less than four weeks from the first call, on the 3d of March, 1862, thirty-one persons, of whom four were women, sailed from New York, under the auspices of the Commission, for the scene of their new labors. They were accompanied by twenty-one persons sent out by the Freedmen's Relief Society, which had been organized a little later in New York, and by three ladies from Washington. Landing at Port Royal, each of these persons was immediately placed in charge of from one to five plantations, and although joined soon after by twenty more from Boston, but few of their number could be spared as teachers ; nearly all became superintendents, charged with initiating the new system of labor under which the freed people were so soon to become a self-sustaining community. They found the blacks in an entirely unorganized condition, utterly uncertain as to their own position, and destitute of the very necessities of life ; they were furnished with rations by the government, but were clad only in the rags of the garments which had been supplied them by their former masters, nearly two years before.

The first endeavor was to get a food crop planted, the second, a small crop of cotton, although it was then two months later than the usual date for preparing the ground for cotton. The superintendents were authorized by the government to promise small wages for labor ; this promise could not be fulfilled for many months ; but under all disadvantages no difficulty was experienced in organizing an efficient system of labor, which soon appearing to be entirely successful, the larger portion of the superintendents were taken out of the hands of the societies that had sent them forward into the employment and pay of the government.

Schools were organized, in which three thousand children

have been taught, and for many months, while only promises to pay for work could be given, the confidence of the freedmen was maintained by asking them, in answer to all complaints, "Are we not teaching your children?"

The second year has just passed, and in its course, notwithstanding the enlistment of nearly all the able-bodied men in the army, a crop of corn and other food sufficient for a twelvemonth has been provided, and nearly one thousand bales of fine Sea-Island cotton have been raised, which are now being sent to market, partly on account of parties from the North, who purchased land at the tax sales in the spring of 1863, partly on account of some of the freedmen, who have themselves already purchased or leased small parcels of land, and the remainder on account of the government, the product of lands cultivated under superintendents. It can now be claimed that the colored population of the Sea Islands, over fifteen thousand in number, have been brought in two years from a state of utter destitution and ignorance to absolute prosperity and partial education, and this has been accomplished under all the disadvantages of military occupation and actual war, by two comparatively feeble societies in Boston and New York, aided by the Port Royal Relief Committee of Philadelphia, whose first efforts were principally to furnish supplies, and to establish stores in which goods might be sold at cost, but who now maintain a large number of teachers, having reorganized as the Freedmen's Relief Association of Philadelphia.

The oft-reiterated charge, that the emancipated negro lapses into barbarism and will not work, which any impartial investigation might have found to be entirely disproved in any and all of the British West Indies, has been again disproved upon our own soil. This charge is as false as the motive which prompts it is wicked and selfish. It has been the chief weapon of the slaveholder, used with design and malice, — believed by the quietist in the North, because he had not the energy or the ability to investigate for himself; believed by the selfish politician, because it opened to him the road to place and power; believed by the cotton-spinner, because the slave system gave him a supply of cotton ample for use and cheap enough for profitable manufacture; assented to or not disbelieved by the

great mass of the community, because they had not that living faith in the infinite justice of God which should cause them to see that a system which made tools and chattels of men and women could only degrade and not elevate, and that the very fact that a useful product could be produced under a system of labor so utterly false by all rules of sound political economy, was in itself an evidence that a system in accordance with sound principles must produce better results for the highest self-interest of a nation, since the true principle of political economy for a nation cannot be opposed to, but must harmonize with, the highest morality and the strictest justice to the most humble of its people.

The efforts of the Commission have been successful in many other places, but our attention is mainly called to Port Royal, because the regeneration of fifteen thousand freed people by simple practical methods, although the number is small compared to the whole negro population of the country, is yet a result on a scale sufficient to justify our assertion that the negro question is solved.

The most hopeful sign in this experiment has been the great desire of the freedmen to become freeholders, and this desire many have already realized. In some instances, several freedmen united their small earnings of the year 1862, and purchased the plantations on which they belonged at the tax sales; in others, small sums were loaned them by their employers for the same purpose. These men may be said to have become rich; there are some among them who have already accumulated from one to two thousand dollars, and at a recent sale of town lots and houses in Beaufort they were large purchasers.

The attachment of the negroes to the place of their birth is very great, and will prevent their ever becoming vagrants. The most powerful incentive to labor, and the most convincing proof to them that they were absolutely free, has been the idea held out to them by our teachers, and now partially realized, that they should become the absolute possessors of their own cabins.

The fifteen thousand people at Port Royal were probably the most difficult portion of their race to be dealt with, because of

their entirely isolated and absolutely ignorant condition. The vast difference between them and the negroes of Middle Tennessee is proved by the fact, that the latter, when released from servitude, sought for work themselves, were to a very limited extent applicants for aid to the government officers, and without any assistance organized schools for their children in and around Nashville, in which schools Major Stearns, when sent to that section to recruit colored regiments, found over eight hundred children receiving instruction from teachers paid by their parents, — the slaves but just emancipated.

We refer to these facts in the short history of the freedmen, because it is from their labor that our immediate supply of cotton is to be obtained. How soon that supply will come, and how soon the cotton question will be solved, may be inferred from Mr. Philbrick's narrative of the cultivation of cotton by free labor for account of private owners upon the Sea Islands.

This gentleman, one of the earliest volunteers in the service of the Commission, after conducting two of the largest plantations for account of the government in 1862, with a small profit over all expenses, notwithstanding the lateness of the date on which he began his work, came North and obtained subscriptions to the amount of \$30,000, afterwards increased to \$40,000, with a view to larger operations the next season. He then purchased at the tax sales eleven plantations, containing 6,000 acres, and leased two others. Upon these plantations was a population of 920 old men, women, and children, the able-bodied men being nearly all in the army. Six gentlemen who had been sent out by the Commission as superintendents were employed without salary, but with an interest in the crops; the "job" system was adopted everywhere, as it had already been proved with the black as successful an incentive to labor as it is with the white. A portion of land was allotted to each family for their provision crops, and they were held responsible for the production of a sufficient supply, and to each family was assigned such portion of cotton-land as they chose to undertake.

Very moderate wages were paid for planting and hoeing at a fixed rate per acre, the principal payment being reserved for the end, when the crop was paid for *per pound* as gathered. All other kinds of work, such as ploughing, collecting salt-marsh

mud and grass for manure, ginning, cleaning, and packing, were paid for by the piece, each family preparing for market the cotton they had raised.

Mr. Philbrick's statement of results cannot be remodelled ; it must be given as he gives it.

"The amount of wages earned per day varied, of course, with the industry and capacity of the individual. It has averaged about fifty-five cents per day for the time spent in the cotton-field or in preparing manure, ginning, &c., in addition to which wages for a portion of his time, the negro has had free house-rent and the use of land for raising his provision crops, on which the remainder of his time was spent at his own discretion. Many have done habitually double the amount of work they were formerly required to do by their masters in a day, and, as they say, with no more fatigue.

"The whole number of laborers employed on the thirteen estates was about four hundred, rating two children as one hand. Most of this number were women, children, and old men, for the young men were all called into the United States service.

"With this help there were planted eight hundred and fourteen acres of cotton, from which a crop of seventy-two thousand pounds of cotton was obtained, being two hundred bales of three hundred and sixty pounds each, or about two thirds the former average crop per acre. With the usual amount of manure, a much better result could have been obtained ; but as the lands were hurriedly planted, within a few weeks after taking possession, no opportunity was afforded for manuring to any extent.

"The whole amount paid out in wages, including the collection of manures for the next crop, the harvesting of the crops for feeding the animals, and the preparation of the cotton for market, has been about twenty thousand dollars. Estimating the other expenses, namely, the depreciation of outfit and the interest account, to be seven thousand dollars more, which will be near the truth, the cost of the cotton per pound will be about thirty-seven cents.

"The cost of producing this long-staple cotton under the slave system was at least six times the cost of producing upland cotton, owing to the small yield and the careful nursing required by this delicate variety. The cost is thus spoken of in De Bow's Review, Vol. XVI. p. 598 : 'The cost of producing a bag of ordinary Sea-Island cotton is about \$75. That of the finest is twice as much.' Now the bag contained three hundred and fifty pounds, making the price per pound from twenty-one to forty-two cents, or an average of thirty-one and a half cents. This was written in 1854, when the market price of slaves, the principal item in

the cost of growing cotton, was at least twenty-five per cent lower than in 1860. So the cost of growing the average long-staple at the beginning of the rebellion was about forty cents per pound. It is well known that, for several years previous to the war, this staple sold at from forty to sixty cents. The cost of its production, as stated above, may appear to be much greater than has generally been supposed, for it has not been usual for Southern men to consider the interest of the capital invested in reckoning their expenses; but as among commercial men in all other parts of the world the interest on fixed capital is considered as part of the current expenses of an enterprise, it does not appear inconsistent with custom and a fair statement of the subject, and it has accordingly entered into the above estimates.

"It must be remembered that this free-labor experiment has been surrounded by all the annoyances of a military occupation, that we were deprived of the services of the able-bodied men, were almost entirely without manure and live stock, and quite destitute of experienced superintendence; and though during the first year of an experimental organization, and though paying for our labor in a depreciated currency, we have still produced two hundred bales of cotton at a cost at least as low as it was done by the system of compulsory labor, when the cost was reckoned in hard money, and when the planter enjoyed all the advantages of experienced superintendence, a thorough and well-studied organization, nearly perfect in its way, with all the outfit of live stock and manure which he saw fit to provide, and all the able-bodied men to help him.

"Moreover, these two hundred bales of cotton have been produced by the application of a cash capital of only forty thousand dollars, including the cost of the land and all expenses for a year, while under the old system the market value of the negroes alone which were required to produce the same amount of long-staple cotton was not less than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, or more than six times the amount of capital required under the free-labor system!

"Upon the eleven plantations purchased and cultivated as above, five free schools have been supported at the expense of the proprietors, giving instruction to over three hundred pupils.

"The chief difficulty in inducing freed negroes to work well is in securing their confidence, for their past experience has bred distrust in the white man; but this difficulty may soon be overcome by prompt payments and a recognition of their just claims.

"The lack of organization and of division of labor, which is unavoidable under the system of individual responsibility here adopted, is, in the end, fully compensated for by the rapid development of ambition and self-reliance in the laborer.

"The natural tendency of the freed negro is to rest satisfied with supplying his simple wants, which he can do in the Southern States with a very small amount of labor. This fault is easily corrected by bringing within his reach, by purchase, at low rates, articles which minister to new and civilized wants, stimulating industry for the sake of gratifying his newly-acquired tastes. The freed negro spends his money freely, but not without some discretion, takes pride in providing for his own wants, and in imitating the style of his superiors.

"Believing it to be a necessary part of the new system that the freedman should have ready means of spending his first earnings in the purchase of really useful and civilizing articles, five stores have been established upon these plantations, where there has been sold, at cost, during the past year, nearly \$20,000 worth of plain cloth, domestic utensils, and a variety of food, soap, candles, hardware, tools, &c., &c.

"It has not seemed advisable to place any sort of restrictions upon the negroes in regard to what sort of labor or what amount of labor each one should perform. Any attempt in such a direction would serve to check the healthy development of industry, by begetting suspicion and repugnance towards the employer.

"It is hardly necessary to draw attention to the enormous profits of raising cotton at present, if, as shown above, it can be raised at about the same cost as before the war. Sea-Island cotton has been sold lately at about one dollar and a half per pound, which, according to the above statement, is about four times the cost of its production; but upland cotton can be produced at one sixth the cost per pound, — say eight cents, or about one tenth of its present market value. If, then, the culture of Sea-Island cotton can be made as profitable as it has proved in this experiment, how much more so must the culture of upland cotton prove at present prices!"

This cotton is now in New York; it has been pronounced by experts to be of the finest quality, and prepared for market in the best manner. It would have brought in ordinary times from sixty to eighty cents per pound, but is now worth about double those prices, while the common cotton, ordinarily worth ten to twelve cents, now brings seventy-five to eighty cents.

The company of which Mr. Philbrick was the head was not organized for the simple purpose of making money for the subscribers, but to prove that the production of cotton could be made to pay very largely, even at ordinary prices, when raised by free labor, by a company conducted on the strictest business principles; the only departure from such principles

being the establishment of schools for the children at the expense of the business, and that has been simply a form of voluntary taxation no larger than the tax which all business in the North is assessed for the support of our schools.

It is somewhat to be regretted that this demonstration could not have been made upon the upland or green-seed cotton, and not upon an exceptional staple like the Sea-Island ; but great success has attended the cultivation of the common variety on the Mississippi, of which, however, no details of cost can yet be obtained.

The statement of the cost of raising Sea-Island cotton in former times, although quoted from De Bow, will be challenged and denied by slaveholders and their advocates, because the planter never estimated interest as a part of the cost of cotton. The 4,000,000 slaves of the South represented a capital of \$2,000,000,000, on which the annual interest was \$120,000,000. The planter estimated this interest as so much profit, not realizing, what we have proved, that with one fifth part of the capital used upon his plantation, and with the remainder invested in real property, railroads, canals, and other internal improvements paying him interest, he might have produced far larger crops, at the same time settling the country with a dense population having a common interest. But under the slave system it was necessary that all surplus should be invested, not in real property, by which the resources of the country should be developed, but in fictitious property, now swept away forever, by which the resources of the country were wasted.

We may imagine how rapidly the South may be developed, how easily the national debt may be paid, when we realize that, in the new State of Texas, planters were able to pay, from 1850 to 1860, five millions of dollars annually for human live stock to the Border States, and yet by so doing only succeeded in placing one fifth of one per cent of their land under cultivation in cotton, on which they produced in 1860 one half of all the cotton consumed in New England in the same year, viz. 405,000 bales.

But the final and absolute solution of the cotton and the negro questions is contained in a single page of Mr. Yeat-

man's Report to the Western Sanitary Commission in regard to leasing abandoned plantations.

Thirty-three freedmen have leased abandoned plantations upon the Mississippi River during the past year. They must have been entirely without capital, for two years ago they did not even own themselves; they have been exposed to incursions from guerillas, and subject to many obstacles and disadvantages; but by working themselves, and hiring their less enterprising companions, they have made a crop of 377 bales of cotton, of which 101 bales had been sold, at the date of Mr. Yeatman's Report, for \$24,239.70; and if the remainder be estimated at the same rate, the total value of their crop was over \$91,000, or nearly \$3,000 each, on an average, for the work of a single season.

From this result we may draw a comparison between the systems of slave and free labor.

Under the slave system the force required to produce 377 bales of cotton would have been forty-seven full hands, and with each full hand at least two children, useful only during the picking season. This force would have represented a capital, or necessary investment, as follows:—

47 full hands @ \$ 1,000 each,	\$ 47,000
94 children @ \$ 300 each	28,200
	<hr/>
Total,	\$ 75,200

This quantity of cotton would be sufficient for the supply of 3,600 spindles on medium cloth, No. 30 yarn. A mill of this capacity with all requisite tenements could have been built in 1860 for less than \$60,000, or four fifths the sum then required to be invested in human chattels to supply it with raw material. In England, such a mill could have been erected for less than \$40,000.

Slave Labor,

To produce 377 bales of cotton, required 141 *chattels*, representing a capital of \$ 75,200

Free Labor,

To produce 377 bales of cotton, under every possible disadvantage, required 33 *freemen*, representing a capital of \$ 00,000

Among this 33 is it not fair to take one as the criterion of what one in every 33 may accomplish?

Take, then, Sancho Lynch, at Goodrich's Landing, "A right smart handy nigger-boy," to use the terms of two years ago; hiring his associates, he produced 75 bales of cotton, valued at \$18,000.

One slave-owner would have required an invested capital of \$15,000 to accomplish what this *man* less than two years old in freedom has accomplished with no other capital than his own ability; and yet this man could not be trusted to take care of himself!

Under the slave system one may picture to himself the large plantation, perhaps one tenth under cultivation, the rest held or purchased for the purpose of keeping at a distance the poor white trash who own no slaves, — upon the field the men and women working with rude, strong tools under the lash of the overseer, clad in the coarsest garments made by the spinning-jenny and the hand-loom upon the plantation, — the children grovelling in vice and ignorance legally enforced, — no marriage rite, no law but the law of force, often administered by a drunken brute, — in the master's house no God but the God of infinite justice destroying those who would resist his divine command, but in the field the God of mercy saving by their patience, by their innate cheerfulness, by the fulness of their affections, the poor victims of oppression for the day of their deliverance now dawning upon them.

Then picture this land as it shall surely be a few years hence, — the land divided, if not by confiscation, then by the operation of the ordinary working of our system of land tenure (for with the restoration of the State comes back the mortgage for foreclosure, or the need that the owner shall sell a portion of his land in order that he may be able to use the remainder), — the freedmen developing, as at Port Royal, the desire to become land-owners, and enabled to become so by the large profits which the next few years must yield to all cultivators of cotton, — villages established, — the Yankee school-teacher everywhere at work, — the men in the fields, — the women in their own homes, — the children at school, — none clad now in coarse hand-made fabrics, but in New Eng-

land manufactures purchased and paid for with their own money, — the poor white trash no longer repelled and forced to spread over Southern Illinois and Indiana the darkness of Egypt, but at home slowly and surely learning that true independence which they now honestly but blindly seek under the false lead of the Slaveholder of the South and the Copperhead of the North, — and everywhere the church spire pointing its finger toward heaven, leading up to the one Infinite Power which is now guiding this nation through sorrow and tribulation — the atonement for its great national crime — to liberty and union eternal as the heavens.

Having thus glanced over the present condition of the supply of cotton, we may come to the following conclusions.

England (containing 33,000,000 cotton spindles) and the Continent of Europe (containing about 12,500,000 spindles) are nearly independent of this country for their supply, and in two or three years will be absolutely so.

Of the new supplies, it seems probable that one third may be maintained in competition with this country. The remainder, the product of India and other Eastern countries, will be driven out, and we shall regain perhaps too great a monopoly in furnishing the supply.

How soon this result may be reached cannot be foretold. Under the present liberal policy of the government, allowing planter-owners to bring their cotton to our lines and to sell it upon taking the oath under the amnesty proclamation, it is hoped that the old stock, now estimated at 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 bales, may be gradually moved, so that no great amount may remain on hand when the rebellion is suppressed, to cause a sudden and large fall in price, and produce a general commercial crisis. If this gradual removal shall not take place, it is to be hoped, but not expected, that enough shall be burned by the Confederates to reduce the stock to one million bales or less. By this the price of the first three or four free-labor crops may be kept very high.

With such a stimulus for production, the number of negro laborers will be inadequate, there being an average of less than one negro laborer to the square mile of territory in the Cotton States ; wages will be very high, and the competition for the

services of the freedmen will prevent their being abused or oppressed, so that the chief danger to which they will be exposed will be that their wages may increase faster than their wants, and thereby they may be led into habits of idleness.

It may be deemed somewhat strange that a cotton manufacturer should advocate high prices for cotton, but the rapid increase in the population of the country, and the large new market to be opened by changing four million slaves, now clad in the coarsest homespun, to four million freemen, large purchasers of Northern manufactures, will secure a market, in time of peace, for the product of all the spindles, at whatever price the raw material may rule. We had only 5,000,000 spindles in 1860, and there can be no increase in that number during the five succeeding years.

Already there are six hundred applications to lease abandoned plantations on the Mississippi, and full protection is to be granted by the War Department. Many of the applicants are known to the writer as substantial New England men, with ample capital; and letters from them already state that no such opening for enterprise and capital was ever before offered in this country. Following the lessees, the various Freedmen's Aid Societies of the East and West are sending teachers sufficient for the care of the children.

Congress is now legislating upon the subject of a Bureau of Emancipation. It is to be hoped that they will be guided by the experience gained by the several Freedmen's Aid Societies of the country, and by the almost unaided efforts of the negroes around Nashville, in New Orleans, and in some regions upon the Mississippi, to become self-supporting.

Let them avoid over-legislation, too much guardianship, too much taking care, but recognize in the negro a man fully competent to make his own contracts, if protected from injustice and abuse, and for whom the only necessary compulsion is to be paid fair wages for a fair day's work. It may be that the Bureau of Emancipation will be more needed to organize and civilize the poor whites, who are unused to labor, and believe it to be degrading, than it will be for the poor blacks, who welcome the opportunity to labor for themselves as the pathway to freedom and prosperity.